

A Diachronic Analysis of *pay* and *take* Composite Predicates

5768735

MSc English Language

The University of Edinburgh

2009

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	3
COMPOSITE PREDICATES IN PRESENT DAY ENGLISH	5
COMPOSITE PREDICATES IN LATE MODERN ENGLISH	15
LEXICALIZATION OF COMPOSITE PREDICATES	26
GRAMMATICALIZATION AND THE LIGHT VERB CONSTRUCTION	34
CONCLUSION	40
BIBLIOGRAPHY	41

Acknowledgments:

I'd like to thank Dr. Hendrik DeSmet of the University of Leuven for providing me with access to the corpus data, and Dr. Graeme Trousdale for supervising me in the writing of this paper.

INTRODUCTION

Multi-word verbs in English are abundant and in regular usage, and are diverse in form and meaning, with a variety of patterns and types available to the speaker. A particular variety follows the Verb-Noun-Preposition pattern, which will here be known as the Composite Predicate (CP). Others name the pattern differently but there is general agreement that the structure is established amongst speakers. There are many characteristics separating CPs from other verbal forms; these will be discussed here, but an initial assessment points to one trend: that of fossilization, 'the loss of ability to undergo the range of manipulation found with comparable free combinations' (Huddleston and Pullum 2002:284). An example of a common CP is *lose sight of*, a construct which is regularly used by speakers, and although the verbal element *lose* may be subject to inflection, the construct as a whole cannot be subject to syntactic alteration or adjectival modification of the object noun *sight*. Furthermore, the form itself means something other than the sum of its parts; it is semantically opaque and noncompositional. Huddleston and Pullum draw attention to a selection of these forms, highlighting their syntactic limitation (2002:289). They point out that some examples may be subject to more operations than others; in other words, a form may be fossilized to a greater or lesser extent.

This paper focuses on two sets of morphologically similar CPs. Each set has a verbal element in common; either *pay* or *take*:

Take set:

Take note of

Take part in

Take advantage of

Take care of

Take exception to

Take pride in

Take heed of

Take umbrage at

Pay set:

Pay tribute to

Pay attention to

Pay heed to

Pay respects to

Pay a visit to

Pay court to

The examples in these sets are in the lexicon of most speakers of English. They are all fossilized to some extent. My first objective however is to show that they do not have as much in common as their morphological appearance would suggest. By considering the diachronic development of a selection of these CPs, and observing how they have changed from Late Modern to Present Day English, I will show that their development has been far from uniform. There are differences in how long each example takes to develop, as well as when it begins to develop and how much it has changed by the present day. Furthermore, the type of change varies between examples; some gradually evolve, whilst others appear fairly quickly. I will make this clear below.

My second objective deals with the process of lexicalization that occurs in the diachronic changes undergone by the CPs. I will show that the majority of the examples have lexicalized, and each to a different extent, through discussion of the details of the lexicalization process. I will also show that some of the internal aspects of lexicalization may or may not apply to these forms, highlighting their peculiarity amongst verbal idioms.

My third objective deals with the formation of some of the examples, pointing out how they have developed from the Light Verb (LV) construction. I will discuss grammaticalization in relation to this construction, and show how lexicalized forms may 'branch off' from a grammaticalized LV construct, producing certain examples that we find here.

Composite Predicates have been dealt with before in certain capacities. Their diachronic development is discussed in a useful collection of work edited by Brinton and Akimoto (1999). Brinton herself provides a recent close analysis of CPs and the Light Verb construction, pointing out the lexicalization of the former and grammaticalization of the latter (2008). Trousdale's analysis of the 'give + NP + gerund' construction also highlights certain aspects of lexicalization and grammaticalization in relation to CPs (2008). Added to this there are the overviews in Huddleston and Pullum (2002:288) and Quirk et al. (1150-1175). Lexicalization and its relationship to grammaticalization is dealt with extensively in Brinton and Traugott 2005; indeed this will form the major reference point for my analysis. Here they combine previous theory to create an updated picture of lexicalization and its internal features, and show how it shares certain characteristics with grammaticalization. Other useful reference points for lexicalization include Bauer (1983) and Ryder (1999). Additionally, Algeo provides a strong analysis of the Light Verb construction (1995).

COMPOSITE PREDICATES IN PRESENT DAY ENGLISH

The composite predicate (CP) construction is a common one in English, but as many have shown it encompasses a considerable variety of forms. Focus here is on two particular sets, defined by their use of either *pay* or *take* as the main verb in the construction. The first thing that can be said with certainty about the CPs in these sets is that they are to some extent idiomatic in English, and can be regularly found in discourse and writing as relatively fossilized forms. Secondly, and tying in with this, is the fact that all of them in some way have a meaning attached to the whole form that is not entirely derivable from the meanings of the individual parts. In the following section an attempt will be made to break down these CPs in their modern incarnation and discuss the various semantic and syntactic changes and attached to them. This will give an idea of how fossilized these constructions are, and will highlight some of the problems inherent to them, thus providing a basis for theoretical discussion of the processes of lexicalization going on here and how the two sets differ. I will be making these observations within my own Standard British English dialect; there may of course be different patterns available in other dialects, but these will not be discussed here.

Putting aside the semantic peculiarities of the two sets for the time being, it makes sense to assess the levels of syntactic flexibility in these examples. There are a number of operations that produce interesting results, and five major ones will be discussed here: passivization, availability of the ditransitive construction, availability of anaphora, possibility of modification and negation of the object-noun, and it-clefting.

Passivization

It has been noticed previously that CPs of the pattern V-object-preposition potentially have two passive forms available to them: normal or 'true' passive and 'prepositional' passive (Huddleston & Pullum 2002:289). The normal passive is the standard passive formation available to the majority of semantically transparent simple verbs and serves to place the focus of the sentence upon the object of the action:

John paid the fare to the driver => The fare was paid to the driver by John

Cheryl took Andy's watch => Andy's watch was taken by Cheryl

As we shall see certain CPs can also take this construction:

Most people took advantage of the free food => Advantage was taken of the free food by most people

The prepositional passive however is peculiar to idiomatic CPs, focusing on the object of the whole CP construction as if it were a direct object, and ignoring the fact that the direct object of the verb is actually the noun embedded in the CP:

The baby was taken care of by her sister while she was away.

This operation is not available to simple verbs:

*I took an apple from the tree => *The tree was taken an apple from by me.*

**The driver was paid the fare to by John.*

These two sets of CPs and the examples within them show a range of possibilities for passivization. Some forms behave like the more transparent simple verb constructions in not allowing the prepositional passive at all, but take the normal passive construction quite comfortably (*pay tribute to*, *pay respects to*, *pay a visit to*). *Pay attention to* and *take exception to* are similarly much more likely to take the normal passive, although the prepositional passive may be found in certain situations, most commonly colloquial discourse.

In fact, most of the examples cited allow both passives, with one type more common than the other. *Take advantage of*, *take care of*, *take heed of* and *pay heed to* all more commonly take the prepositional passive. *Take note of* takes the prepositional passive only, except for when modification is used, in which case the normal passive is available (*no note was taken of his surroundings*).

Take part in, *take pride in*, *take umbrage at* and *pay court to* do not generally allow any form of passive, except in certain cases when modification is applied (*great pride was taken in the show by its patrons*).

This varying availability of passive constructions can be seen in the table below. The Google hits were generated by entering the past tense third person singular form of either passive (e.g. *care was taken of*/*was taken care of*). Although the internet does not have the controlled diversity and universality of a true corpus, its sheer weight of information should provide results that are roughly representative of usage in the current speech community.

	Both passives	Normal passive (# of Google hits)	Prepositional passive (# of Google hits)	None
Take exception to	✓	more common (17,500)	less common (545)	
Take advantage of	✓	less common (36,900)	more common (138,000)	
Take care of	✓	less common (13,400)	more common (572,000)	
Take heed of	✓	less common (1,440)	more common (32,000)	
Take note of		only with negation	✓	
Take pride in		(only with modification)		✓
Take part in				✓
Take umbrage at				✓
Pay a visit to		✓		
Pay respects to		✓		
Pay tribute to		✓	(possible but awkward)	
Pay attention to	✓	much more common (1,640,000)	less common and awkward (649)	
Pay heed to	✓	only with modification (5,340)	more common (10,600)	
Pay court to				✓

Since, as we have seen, a composite predicate can be considered idiomatic and fossilized within the language, it follows that those examples which function more like fossilized units are less likely to allow the normal passive construction and more likely to passivize using the prepositional

construction, which keeps the elements of the CP together and allows it to function more like a simple verb. Thus, in so far as passivization is concerned, the CPs that allow the normal passive only are the least fossilized, being most like a simple verb-object construction, whereas those that do not allow any passive at all are the most fossilized, as they are so ingrained as units that speakers cannot conceive of them in any other way than their one standard form, as if the whole form were a one simple verb.

Ditransitive construction

Both *pay* and *take* can make use of the ditransitive construction when operating as simple verbs:

I paid the driver the fare

Emily took Mike a piece of fruit from the bowl

In the first example *the fare* is the direct object of *paid*, with *the driver* functioning as the target of the payment. The second example has slight ambiguity in that Emily is either actively bringing the fruit to Mike or simply picking it up with the intention of it being for him, though he is not necessarily going to receive it. Regardless of meaning, the ditransitive is possible in each case. When it comes to CPs however, this type of construction is not always available. The most striking fact is that for the *take* set, it is never possible:

**The reporters took me advantage of the free food*

**I took the prime minister note of the gap in back-payments*

**Maud took me pride in her work*

The *pay* set on the other hand allows it relatively freely in some cases:

He paid Mike/the old woman in the shoe/most people a visit

*The three musketeers paid d'Artagnan *respects/their respects*

*You paid *John/ *me/?John no/?me no attention yesterday.*

*Nevertheless, the pig paid *the farmer/?the farmer no heed.*

Notice that here and in many other cases, modification of the noun is required for the ditransitive to be available (and *pay attention* and *pay heed* are questionable in any case). This is discussed further below. Other members of the *pay* set do not allow the ditransitive at all:

**The team paid the coach tribute.*

**The speaker paid the man court for his role in the reforms.*

Both these examples are not possible with the modern readings of these CPs, though with their original transparent meanings there were ditransitive possibilities:

Mithridates paid the Romans tribute in instalments for ten years.

The dukes came and saluted Arthur and paid him court.

The original meanings and usages of both sets will be discussed below. Here though we can see that in a similar way to passivization, the availability of the ditransitive is linked to how far the CP is considered to be a fossilized unit. The *pay* set displays various levels of fossilization, with greater flexibility available when modification is involved. It is entirely possible that modification ‘breaks up’ the CP and makes the idiom less recognizable to the speaker, allowing more syntactic variety (this can also be seen with passivization). In the *take* set however, the verb *take* itself seems to have lost so much of its original standard meaning (as in *I took an apple from the tree*) that any sense of transfer from one individual to another has been lost. The noun in the CP also tends to be referential to a property of the subject. It is not adjectival, but is still inherently linked to the subject. Hence **I took John advantage of the expenses system*; the intended meaning of this sentence must be conveyed in a way such as *I took advantage of the expenses system for/on behalf of John*.

Anaphora

The syntactic operations considered so far have produced varying results across examples in both sets, and have been fully productive in at least one case. Conversely, anaphora is not comfortably available to any example, though it may be possible in certain circumstances with *pay a visit to*:

Hilary took butter from the tub and John took some from her knife when she was finished.

Boy Scouts pay the joining fee and Girl Guides pay it as well.

**Hilary took pride in her work but John took it in being lazy.*

**Boys take advantage of free candy but girls take it of healthier options.*

**Ministers pay court to other politicians on a regular basis and whips pay it too.*

*I paid a visit to the Pope while Dan paid *one too/?one to a friend.*

This points further to the fossilization of CPs. It would appear that when separated from the CP the verb 'reverts' semantically to its standard meaning, and loses whatever unique semantics were given to it by the noun it was attached to earlier in the sentence. Clearly then, *pay* and *take* do not carry their usual meaning when part of the CP examples in question, otherwise one would reasonably expect anaphora of this type to be possible. Also, it would appear that it is difficult for the speaker to identify the pronoun *it*, *one* or *some* as referring to the object-noun in the CP, most likely because it has lost its nominal status and has become relatively semantically empty; a part of a sufficiently established fossilized idiom.

***It*-clefting**

A similar situation arises with *it*-clefting. With a simple, transparent *pay* or *take* construction it is possible to focus the object using this syntactic operation:

It was money that Jason paid to the foreman

It was an apple that I took from the tree

However, the CP examples in question cannot be subjected to the same rearrangement:

**It was advantage that the reporters took of the free food*

**It's attention that needs to be paid here*

**It was umbrage that I took at his suggestion*

**It was a visit that Emily paid to her old grandmother*

The operation is not possible even if the preposition is kept close to the noun:

**It was exception to the film that I took*

**It was heed to the dying man's wishes that I paid*

Once again, it appears to be the case that when separated from a CP recognizable and idiomatic to the speaker, the verb takes on its standard meaning and ceases to make sense with the focused object. In other words, one can for example *take advantage of* something, but *advantage* isn't something that can normally be *taken* in the usual sense.

Modification

As we have touched upon above, modification of the object-noun seems to make certain operations accessible to many CPs where normally they are not available. The passivization table above points out certain instances of this phenomenon:

*Great pride/*pride was taken in the production by all the actors.*

No note was taken of the damages.

No heed was paid to any of the witnesses.

The normal passive construction in general becomes a lot more comfortable and natural when modification is used:

Full advantage was taken of the gap in the expense records

Great care was taken of the child.

Full attention was paid to the speaker.

As we have seen modification also makes the ditransitive possible in certain instances:

The three musketeers paid d'Artagnan their respects.

You paid me no attention yesterday.

Interestingly, a certain type of object focusing is available in several cases when modification is applied:

The only exception I took to the film was the way it was shot

Actually, that musical was the most pride I ever took in anything

The care she took of your mother was exceptional

?The most attention I ever paid to her was the time she insulted me

In fact, the only umbrage I took was at his turn of phrase

In these examples the noun is focused as the subject of the sentence, and the verb is put into a kind of relative clause, marking out a property of the noun. However, if the modification is removed from these sentences they cease to be acceptable (e.g. **Attention I paid to her was the time she insulted me*).

The licensing effect of modification creates several problems. There must be a reason why modification allows certain CPs to undergo syntactic operations that are not available when the object noun is in its original unmodified form. If we consider the semantics within the CPs it is often difficult to attach any concrete sense to the object-noun, since it tends to lack any sense of number and in all but one case is not preceded by a determiner. Despite this, it is true that in many cases the construction's meaning as a verbal unit is dictated by the meaning of the noun. *Pay attention to, pay heed to, pay respects to, pay a visit to, take care of, take pride in* and *take heed of* all display a certain amount of semantic transparency through their object-noun, with the verb acting less as a carrier of meaning and more as a marker of verbal status. On the other hand, the overall meanings of *take note of, take part in, take advantage of, take exception to, take umbrage at, pay tribute to* and *pay court to* are at the very least not immediately clear from the noun. This points to a semantic non-compositionality that is more developed in these examples. However, in all cases in which semantic flexibility is allowed it seems to be more natural to apply modifiers for operations that separate the noun from the CP construction (normal passivization, ditransitive, it-clefting) .

It would appear that decategorialization of the noun is at the root of this problem. Since the CP functions as such an idiomatic unit, the speaker may no longer conceive of the object-noun as a nominal that can exist outside of the CP construction. As observed with anaphora, the fossilization of the CP as a verbal unit renders partially or wholly obsolete the semantic weight that the noun once carried. As a result, focusing or separation of the noun is not acceptable, as this requires the noun to carry excessive semantic baggage. Modification seems to 'anchor' the noun and restore it as a member of a class the speaker is comfortable using.

The idiomatic nature of these CPs gives both their verbal parts different semantics than would normally be associated with them in simple verb constructions. *Take* is listed in the OED with a current standard meaning of 'appropriate' or 'receive or accept what is handed to one'. There is a definite sense of transfer involved and a location or individual from where the object of *take* is being removed or appropriated. However, no CP in the *take* set under scrutiny really displays verbal

semantics close to this. The idea of transfer towards the subject is present to an extent, but it is not possible for the verb to support the altered semantics without the noun in the CP; this is clear from the unavailability of anaphora constructions. *Pay* in standard simple verb constructions is OED listed as relating to ‘giving of satisfaction’ as well as ‘to give money or its equivalent in return for goods, services etc.’ It too involves a sense of transfer, this time from the subject, with an additional sense of obligation. The *pay* set of CPs also does not support much of the original semantics of the simple verb; the sense of obligation has been dampened to a lesser or greater extent. In fact, the verb in the CPs of both sets has undergone semantic bleaching to the extent that two of the examples, *pay heed to* and *take heed of*, have come to mean essentially the same, despite the near opposite meanings of the two verbs in simple standard usage.

However, semantic obscurity is not always associated with syntactic inflexibility. This leads to the major problem at hand and the primary purpose of this paper. In both sets of CPs, it is difficult to observe a definite order of fossilization; it is hard to pick out an example in either set that is unequivocally the most syntactically limited and semantically opaque. As we have seen, there are examples that tend towards the more fossilized end of the spectrum of syntactic variation, as well as appearing more semantically non-compositional. There does seem to be a correlation between syntactic inflexibility and semantic non-compositionality. However, the difficulty of predicting whether a given form will display syntactic inflexibility if it is semantically non-compositional indicates that these CPs, which seemingly follow similar formal patterns, may be less readily described as forming two distinct sets as first appears. To really count as a true set, a series of forms can reasonably be expected to display the same level of syntactic flexibility and bear similar semantic patterns.

Polysemy

Another intriguing complication to any analysis of these two sets of CPs is the fact that several examples have additional specialized uses on top of their already idiomatic nature. These meanings are invariably very modern and may be unlisted in many dictionaries. The semantic connection to the usual meaning is generally apparent, though some variation may have taken place, and syntactic restrictions may be present on top of those already in place. Examples include *take advantage of* and *take care of*:

??*Advantage was taken of the drunken woman by the man/The drunken woman was taken advantage of by the man.*

When used with the sense of ‘to make an inappropriate sexual advance on someone vulnerable’, *take advantage of* usually cannot take the normal passive. It is also generally unable to include a modifier, or be negated by use of *no*; rather *doesn’t take advantage of* is the acceptable form. Although it has been possible to use *take advantage of* to imply inappropriate sexual advance since the original form came into being, the syntactically-fixed, non-modifiable form has only recently come into use with this meaning. The prepositional passive can of course be used with the wider meaning, but if a speaker wants to employ this newer, more specific meaning, only the more fossilized form is available.

Take care of shows a similar but less specific polysemy. The meaning we have seen so far of ‘look after’ displays some syntactic flexibility, with modification and normal passivization both available. However, its other (OED listed) meaning of ‘deal with’ is not so flexible, with only the prepositional passive available, and no modification available.

These two examples point to certain properties of the processes of fossilization and idiomaticization occurring within CPs. Although in the examples we have seen there are different levels of syntactic fossilization and semantic obscurity that do not necessarily correlate with each other, there seems to be evidence here that the more semantically specific and opaque a CP becomes the more like a simple verb it becomes, allowing less alteration of its internal form. It appears that there may be several steps involved in the process of fossilization; a CP is formed and institutionalized as a fossilized phrase with a meaning not completely derivable from its parts, but then new, even more specific and opaque meanings may appear, becoming more syntactically inflexible in the process.

The opening analysis of these CP examples concludes here by summarizing the two problems that the remainder of the paper will seek to deal with. Firstly, it will seek to establish why CPs of a seemingly identical constructional pattern can be so diverse in their syntactic flexibility and their level of semantic compositionality. This can be achieved by analysis of their development over the last 300 years through use of corpora, discussed further below. As a result it should become clear whether it is reasonable to consider *pay* and *take* to truly constitute sets, or whether they are simply coincidental examples that follow the same formal pattern. Secondly, through discussion of current theory and its application to the data, it will attempt to show that the development of these CPs is primarily the result of lexicalization, although elements of grammaticalization may well be involved.

COMPOSITE PREDICATES IN LATE MODERN ENGLISH

In this section I intend to make a diachronic assessment of some of the examples in both sets in order to establish how they have changed over the last 300 years. This involved a thorough examination of corpus material. The corpus used is the extended version of the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts, a 15 million word sample of texts from 1710-1920 (available at <https://perswww.kuleuven.be/~u0044428/>). The sample covers a range of styles and authors, and a variety of subject matters. By looking at the syntactic flexibility and semantic transparency of a selection of the examples in both the *pay* and *take* groups, it should be possible to build up a picture of how far these types of composite predicates operated as fixed units in this period, and how individual examples have changed since then. If the changes across examples follow similar morphological and semantic patterns it would back up the idea that these two CP groups are indeed similar enough to constitute two sets. It will become clear however that this is most likely not the case, as the evidence suggests that no two examples follow quite the same diachronic progression. Some examples are unique in their development, whilst others do appear to be closely related. In addition to syntactic flexibility and semantic transparency, I will also consider whether the use of certain examples has deteriorated or increased over time.

Pay attention to

As we have seen, *pay attention to* in Present Day English displays certain characteristics that show it is a fixed construction in many ways. Its syntactic flexibility is limited; whilst it tends to take the normal passive construction it is also able to take the prepositional passive, and it may not be used in an anaphoric construction (**I paid full attention to the driver but my friend didn't pay any at all*). Additionally and possibly explaining the syntactic characteristics is the level of semantic transparency; when used as a simple verb, *pay* may only take as its object argument a concrete substance that may be used as currency in trade (*money, the fare, a fee* etc.). This form may make use of all syntactic operations available to simple verbs, and a sentence such as *the man paid the fare to the driver* is semantically transparent in that its meaning is clear from its constituent parts. *Pay attention to* is therefore semantically opaque since *attention* is not a substance that can normally be paid. Equally, *pay* in PDE implies a sense of obligation (a certain value is owed or required from the agent); however, *pay attention to* does not carry this sense of obligation in that the agent is usually under no expectation to turn his attention to the target.

Looking at how the CP was used in the Late Modern English period, we find that the situation is different. Firstly, far more syntactic flexibility is permitted:

*women of fashion, who
have a right to attention and will be paid it.* (Chesterfield 1746-71)

*from the
minute attention which she paid to everything she said herself.* (Inchbald 1796)

*and what before was
only the polite attention, which I was always in the habit of paying to an
interesting female.* (Hunt 1820-22)

Here anaphora and a form of *wh*-clefting are made use of where they would not be allowed in PDE. This indicates a lower level of fixedness, and also that *attention* is potentially considered to be a possible argument even when *pay* is operating as a simple verb. Additionally, the preposition is not as attached to the CP as in PDE, allowing the following:

*to which he had never had the least idea of paying any
attention.* (Dickens 1841)

In PDE, especially in more colloquial registers, this would generally be rendered as *which he never had the least idea of paying any attention to*; as with the prepositional passive, relative clauses of this kind keep this CP as a unit.

The nominal is also allowed more extensive and varied modification than in PDE:

paid them all manner of attention till their father would come home. (Galt 1823)

*the Tahitian who had paid me so adroit
an attention* (Darwin 1839)

This shows that *attention* carries more semantic weight than in the modern construct, and does not display such a loss of motivation. The LME speaker/writer can still conceive of *attention* as a noun-

argument of *pay*, even though the construct seems to be well established. This is also evident from the earlier part of the corpus, where *attention* even seems to be used as a bounded noun:

*In his dress, to which he had
formerly paid an attention* (Cibber 1753)

*and paid me with an undisturbed, but punctual
attention* (Stern 1759-67)

Syntactic flexibility is higher in this period and the construct is more semantically transparent. Nevertheless, *pay* seems to be the verb that governs *attention* in the vast majority of circumstances when the meaning ‘focus upon’ is required. There is clear association of the two lexemes, and the indirect object of *pay* is invariably governed by *to*. However, there are other verbs, especially in the earlier part of the corpus, which can govern *attention* to give the same overall meaning:

*should seldom be
found to yield sufficient attention to any other excellence* (Cibber 1753)

*He had never given any
attention to Indian affairs* (Bagehot 1867)

These forms occur infrequently but are still permissible, indicating that *attention* is not as inextricably linked to *pay* as it is in PDE.

The overall picture then is of a CP in formation. The construct is in common usage as a standardised form but syntactic flexibility and semantic transparency as still quite high.

Pay tribute to

In PDE, *pay tribute to* is again syntactically restricted, though to a lesser extent than *pay attention to*. Whilst it usually takes the normal passive, indicating a level of fixedness lower than *pay attention to*, it still does not readily form anaphoric constructions (although to some speakers clefting may be acceptable e.g. *it was the greatest tribute ever paid to a soldier, what a tribute you paid to that young man!*). It may take modification. The construct is still semantically opaque however, since the modern meaning of *tribute* is no longer monetary, but rather describes a giving of respect and a

review of good deeds by a person. As a result *pay* should not normally be able to take it as an object.

It is well known that *pay tribute* has a literal sense in political jargon, meaning the transfer of money from a subjugated party to its controller (*they seemed to acquire a legal exemption from the tributes which they had paid in their former condition of subjects* (Gibbon 1776). This use was semantically transparent and syntactically fully flexible. It would appear from the LME corpus sample that metaphorical use came before syntactic restriction:

It would

not, in my mind, be amiss if you did, and would give you a habit of attentions; they are a tribute which all women expect; and which all men, who would be well received by them; must pay. (Chesterfield 1746-71)

a

momentary tribute of a kind which any honest Englishman might have paid to fairness without being ashamed of the feeling (Hardy 1873)

Throughout the corpus *pay tribute* displays full syntactic flexibility. The above example also shows that modification of the noun was possible. More interesting however is the availability of the ditransitive, an operation not generally possible in PDE:

When the mourner got thus far on his story, he stopp'd to pay Nature her tribute, - and wept bitterly. (Sterne 1768)

that

I only mention them to pay the worthy writer this tribute of respect. (Wollstonecraft 1792)

Furthermore, as with *attention* above, *tribute* often operates as a bounded noun in this period:

And here I cannot omit paying to his Highness the Duke of Gloucester the tribute of respect (Beckford 1783)

Dr. Shaw...pays a tribute to his critical abilities in the preface. (Coleridge 1817)

The syntactic freedom available to this construct in LME would suggest that its semantics are still rooted in its literal meaning, even though the prevailing use is now metaphoric. The construct is clearly not fixed as a CP in LME, and appears to have more syntactic flexibility than *pay attention to*. However, both are semantically opaque, but for different reasons. There is no metaphoric reanalysis with *pay attention to*, and there was never a time when *attention* had a meaning governable by *pay* in its simple verb sense. As a result *pay tribute to* seems to have a different diachronic development to *pay attention to*, both temporally and morphologically, despite the similarities in PDE.

Take care of

Here we see a different pattern in effect. Whilst *take care of* is a fairly infrequent form earlier in the sample, *take care* is well established. There is a considerable semantic difference between the two forms; the former can mean 'look after' or 'deal with' (both have the same underlying semantics), the latter means 'be aware' or 'be careful'. The latter tends also to govern verbs and actions as opposed to NPs:

you must take care to keep it very dry (Bradley, R. *The country housewife and lady's director* 1732)

This provides an example of the polysemy in CPs discussed earlier; this will be returned to below. Firstly syntactic flexibility and semantic transparency will be discussed. *Take care of* appears to be quite well fixed already from the start of the LME period. It is noticeable how little syntactic variation is available; no anaphoric or cleft constructions occur, and passivization is more often prepositional (*not only the child should be taken care of* (Inchbald 1796)) than normal (*great care must be taken that he has always Meat before him* (Richard 1732)). In fact, the prepositional passive occurs 29 times in the corpus, whereas the normal passive only occurs 5 times, a rough ratio of 6:1. Interestingly, a quick Google search of *was taken care of* (599,000 hits) and *care was taken of* (19,200) reveals a ratio of 31:1 for PDE. A similar level to PDE of modification of the noun is also available, with simple adjectival modifiers possible (e.g. *particular, sufficient*), but in general modification is not extensive. So in this period we can see a construct becoming more fixed and syntactically restricted; indeed, it appears much closer to its PDE usage than *pay attention to*.

There are however, especially earlier in the sample, instances of *care* being used as a bounded noun; though these are few, it shows that certain writers do not necessarily treat the construct as fixed, and still feel that *care* should be fully semantically motivated:

*my father's sister, took
the care of me* (Fielding 1749)

This provides an insight into the possible origin of the construct. The modern form *take care of* is semantically opaque, in part because the normal simple verb sense of *take* is not present; there is no idea of transfer of the noun initiated by the subject. However, examples such as *the dog was in the care of its owner* (permissible in both PDE and LME) show how *care* can operate as a bounded noun. When *take* is used with a bounded noun it is far more semantically transparent and the speaker can conceive of it in its standard, simple verb meaning. Furthermore, instances such as *when he first undertook the care of these shaggy souls at Braeghyll* (Linton 1885) make it even clearer how the construct may have come about.

Take care, minus preposition, is also common in the LME sample, yet generally carries a distinctly different meaning to *take care of*. As a result the two forms are able to run parallel to each other without any blocking through synonymy. The difference in meaning is further highlighted by *take care* taking *of* as a preposition governing its indirect object and second argument, indicating what the subject should be aware/careful of:

*"You know, old chap," he stammered, "I think you--
you ought to take care!" "Take care? What of?"* (Bennet 1902)

*but took the care of furnishing
her with every thing on herself* (Haywood 1744)

*Having put her comfortably in, bid
her take care of the evening air, and wished her a kind goodnight* (A. Brontë 1848)

This indicates that the two constructs *take care of* and *take care* originated in different ways. *Take care of* seems to be similar in origin to *pay attention to*, most likely starting as a semantically transparent, syntactically fully flexible instance of verb + object + indirect object governed by *of*.

Take care however may well be a product of the Light Verb construction. This will be discussed later in the paper.

Take exception to

Take exception to in PDE does not display the same level of syntactic inflexibility as many of the other *take* CPs under consideration, most notably in that it passivizes normally in the majority of cases. However, it is still semantically opaque, in that both the verb and noun are semantically demotivated and no longer carry their usual meaning (as when found outside of a CP). In the LME sample, the construct is almost non-existent, with only two examples of anything approaching the fixed form found in PDE:

Possibly she took that exception for herself. (E. Brontë 1847)

there is always somebody who will quibble and make objections and take exceptions. (Booth 1890)

Granted, *take exception to* is not a common construction in PDE, so we would not expect it to be widespread in LME. But its infrequency shows that the construct is in the very early stages of development; *take* has only just started to become associated with *exception*. We can't be sure from the evidence available if *exception* was ever used as a more concrete bounded noun, enabling *take* to operate in its more transparent sense. It is clear though that the diachronic development of this construct is different again, and any kind of regular association of the verb and noun is yet to begin in earnest.

Pay heed to, Take heed of

As we have seen, these two constructs in PDE mean almost exactly the same ('give attention to, acknowledge'). They have similar level of syntactic (in)flexibility, with a couple of notable differences. Passivization is usually prepositional for both, though *take heed of* has a greater potential for normal passivization. Also, *pay heed to* can make use of the ditransitive when negation is applied (*we paid them no heed*). However, both forms are semantically non-compositional, as neither verb can take the unbounded object *heed* as an argument if going by their usual simple verb meanings.

The LME corpus displays an interesting comparison between the two forms. *Take heed of* is by far the more common form. It seems to be almost morphologically identical to its use in PDE, with similar levels of syntactic license, modification and semantic obscurity. There are very few instances of the construct being used in a way that would not be allowed in PDE, although we can see elements of a greater syntactic flexibility:

*not a heed my heart took
of it* (Huxley 1894)

Unfortunately there are no examples of passivization of either construct in the corpus, but since the overall frequency of both is low, this should not be taken to indicate that passivization is not permitted. Overall though *take heed of* appears to be as fixed as in PDE.

On the other hand *pay* is not associated with *heed* very commonly, and other verbs are more commonly used to produce the same meaning, especially in the earlier part of the corpus:

This consideration precluded also the giving heed for an instant to another plea (Clarkson 1839)

and we give no heed to her (Thackeray 1847-8)

*Then Ulysses, of whose strength or cunning the
Cyclop seems to have had as little heed as of an
infant's* (Lamb 1808)

When *pay* does come into use with *heed*, the syntactic flexibility is higher than in PDE, and also greater in synchronic comparison to *take heed of*:

Greatly grieved with the little heed that was paid to my discourse (Galt 1821)

To the cries of Vive la Republique and Down with Tyranny...she seemed to pay no heed. (Carlyle 1837)

Here we see fronting of the object noun and also of the preposition, neither of which is possible in PDE and is proportionally very rare in the LME sample for *take heed of*. Modification is also more extensively available than in PDE:

to which I now paid the keenest heed (Huxley 1894)

Miss St. Quentin paid small heed. (Malet 1901)

Pay seems to simply be an alternative to *give* and *have*, and does not yet appear to have prevailed over these verbs in this construction, as it must have done at a point before PDE, since these verbs are no longer possible with *heed*.

Nevertheless, the PDE speaker still has a choice of *pay* or *take*. A Google search produces 509,000 hits for *take heed of*, but only 143,000 for *pay heed to*, indicating that unless frequency of use surged for a short time in the early 20th century, *pay* has always been the less common variant, though still able to eliminate other rival verbs. *Take heed of* has most likely remained dominant throughout. However, if *pay* and *take* were also true rivals, we would expect one to prevail. I would say that this indicates a different process of development for each construct. Along the same lines as *take care of* and *take care*, I suggest that *pay heed to* formed through a regular association of verb, noun and preposition (cf. *pay attention to*), but *take heed of* is, like *take care*, the product of the Light Verb construction, to be discussed below.

Pay a visit to

In PDE *pay a visit to* appears to be the least fossilized example in both sets. It is fully syntactically transparent, with all operations available to it apart from the prepositional passive, a fact which further marks it out as syntactically flexible. It is notable that it may take the ditransitive construction freely (*I paid him a visit*), and this in turn may be passivized (*he was paid a visit*). However, most speakers accept this as a regularly occurring form, hence its inclusion in this analysis. Indeed, it is semantically opaque to an extent, since *a visit* is not something that can normally be *paid*. The object noun has retained its determiner and as a result remains bounded, and the preposition shows no real attachment to the form, especially in light of the possibility of the ditransitive.

Pay a visit in the LME corpus is even less syntactically restricted than it is in PDE:

the annual visit which the Emperor paid his children (Johnson 1740)

came to pay her, his lady mother, a visit (Galt 1821)

and on that visit (the last they ever paid) (Galsworthy 1904)

The ditransitive is also readily available and commonly used:

Lady Arpington paid Livia an afternoon visit (Meredith 1895)

he resolved to pay Amelia a second visit (Fielding 1751)

As we have seen with other examples, though some modification to the object noun is available in PDE (in fact possibly more than other examples), there is a more extensive range of modification available in LME:

to pay a fifty times repeated visit (Galt 1821)

he carries his canaries to pay her little visits on his fingers (Collins 1859)

paid some other visits while I remained with the latter (Austen 1796-1817)

Whilst the object noun appears to always have been bounded by a determiner, it is interesting that it is possible to pluralize it to *visits* with the implication that more than one visit occurred; *attentions* on the other hand was possible above but did not necessarily indicate multiple events. This indicates that the object noun is thought of as a separate entity by speakers not tied to the construct.

Additionally, *pay* seems to have been competing in the early part of the corpus with *make* in this construct:

several of the Chiefs from the westward made us a Visit (Goldsmith 1766)

he had been to make a visit (Smollett 1771)

This usage disappears from the start of the 19th century, although since it is still available in PDE, this may be coincidental. It is less common in PDE, with *pay* being dominant (2,080,000 Google hits vs. 669,000). As with *pay heed to*, *pay* here seems to have become collocationally preferred over *make*.

As I go on to discuss below, the overall flexibility and transparency of *pay a visit to* may well stem from its relationship to the Light Verb construction, although it also displays characteristics that mark it out as a composite predicate.

LEXICALIZATION OF COMPOSITE PREDICATES

The changes we have seen in the CP examples from Late Modern to Present Day English have shown us that over time these forms have all become more syntactically fixed, so that they can no longer have the full range of syntactic operations applied to them that would normally be available to a standard N + V + prepositional phrase construction. They are also less semantically transparent, so that the meaning of the form as we have it today is not derivable from the meanings of its individual parts. The combination of these parts together would normally result in semantic ill-formedness; the construct is only acceptable because it has developed over time in this way. Consequently, since speakers cannot create the form for themselves from the rules of grammar governing English, it follows that they must learn the form as a unit and save it in their memory as a form that must be drawn upon rather than created. The form can be said to be lexicalized, and the process that causes this outcome is lexicalization.

Lexicalization has been discussed by many scholars and I should first point out that there is discrepancy as to what it actually means. Brinton and Traugott have combined the many viewpoints in their 2005 volume, and have highlighted how the process has different implications for different parts of the language. Lexicalization occurs in many types of word and phrase in various ways; my focus here is on establishing how the theory can be applied to the particular type of diachronic change we are seeing here. I intend first to establish how best to model the change by considering the construction as a whole and its use within the speech community, before moving on to highlight the internal changes taking place within the CP constructs.

Model of use in the speech community

For a CP form to become entrenched as a fixed unit that must be stored by the speaker, there must be a progression from the other end of the spectrum; i.e. when the form was not in existence as even a group of words associated with one another. Bauer (1983:45ff) and Ryder (1999:305-6) map this change as *nonce formation* to *institutionalization* to *lexicalization*. This is a solid model for the general course of lexicalization, since lexicalization is more regularly seen in monomorphemic forms or compounds, but we are dealing here with composite predicates, which by their very nature combine different word classes. The multi-faceted nature of these constructs raises obstacles to any theoretical model.

Nonce formation is cited as 'a new complex word coined on the spur of the moment' (Bauer 1983:45, Brinton and Traugott 2005:45; examples *skilled man-hours*, *eating-habit-wise*). These forms

must be understood from context (Bussmann 1996:328) and are created to fulfil a gap in communication, be it economic (i.e. a short word for a long descriptive phrase, e.g. most technical terms), pragmatic (to plug a conceptual hole), or stylistic (Brinton and Traugott 2005:45). Ryder also highlights the transparency of these forms; they are formed by productive rules both morphologically and semantically (1999:305).

As the form becomes accepted by speakers, it is institutionalized and becomes a neologism, a new formation in the language that has a specific meaning that must be listed as separate, both by the speaker and in dictionaries (Brinton and Traugott 2005:45-6). Ryder (1999:305-6), Bussmann ('neologism' 1996:324) and Bauer (1983:48) point out that the form is still morphologically transparent and has been created with productive processes. So it is at this point in the process that the form is recognised as regularly occurring, and therefore fixed to an extent, even though it was created productively. It is the semantics of the form that becomes more specific and less clear from its parts. Bauer (1983:48) cites the example *telephone box*, which has been created by productive processes and is morphologically transparent, but is semantically opaque to an extent in that it only has one meaning; it cannot for example mean 'a box for storing a telephone in'.

Ryder (1999:306) lays out the final stage of the process, lexicalization, pointing out a lexicalized form as one with an accepted meaning independent of context and not completely predictable from the morphological structure. The process that creates this form is no longer productive, and the meaning must be listed separately in the dictionary, as well as stored in the lexicon of speakers. Bauer follows a similar line (1983:48). Features are lost over time; where a form was once merely institutionalized but it was still clear from where it had developed, now through loss of features it has developed into a lexicalized form, such that the speaker cannot know how it was produced (Brinton and Traugott 2005:46).

Nonce formation is supposedly the first step in institutionalization, and it is fair to say that for any monomorpheme or compound there must have been an instance of first use. But as seems to be apparent from the corpus, several constructs (*pay attention to*, *take care of*, *pay heed to*, and possibly *take exception to*) seem to have formed by a process of slow association, whereby the simple verb *pay* or *take* gradually came to be collocationally selected over other verbs such as *give* and *have* to govern the object noun. We could consider the very first collocation of the verb with the noun as its nonce form, but this doesn't mean that this collocation started the institutionalization process. If we look at *pay attention to*, neither noun, verb or even preposition are coinages in themselves. As a result a more gradual process might be in place than those described here.

There must however be a point at which these verb-noun collocations became recognised enough to be considered neologisms, in that they are recognised by speakers, have a specified meaning but are still morphologically transparent. The LME corpus has show that different constructs have various start points for the institutionalization-lexicalization process, and some, such as *pay heed to*, *pay attention to* and *take care of*, appear to be at the brink of institutionalization. It is impossible to establish exactly when the verb in each case became associated with the noun; the point at which that the two were collocated because the writer felt that they should be, rather than chosen together simply because they could be.

Considering the descriptions of the stages in the institutionalization-lexicalization process as laid out by scholars above, we can see that a major factor of the difference between these stages is morphological transparency; whether productive processes have created the construct or not. It is difficult to say however that the examples we have seen are not created by productive processes. The exception to this is prepositional passivization, which is decidedly unproductive by the rules of grammar. We could therefore consider an example such as *but they have not been **paid attention to** lately* (Babbage 1832) as indicating lexicalization, according to Ryder, Bauer and Brinton & Traugott, since it fulfils their definitions, at least in terms of use in the speech community. But the majority of forms in the LME corpus appear to exhibit characteristics of institutionalization leading towards lexicalization, as there is still an element of productive morphology when modification is involved. This can be found in certain incarnations of the constructs from LME (e.g. *Mullern took upon himself the care of continuing to entertain her in private* (Haywood 1744)) through to PDE (e.g. *Orbitz took great care of me when stranded* (<http://www.viewpoints.com/Orbitz-review-b5850>, 2007)). The modification in both these examples mitigates the relative semantic emptiness of the constituent parts and as a result allows the speaker to recognise them more readily as morphologically productive verb-noun formations. As long as modification is available, no form can be said to be fully lexicalized.

Blank (cited in Brinton and Traugott 2005:47) feels that there should be no separation of institutionalization and lexicalization, pointing out that 'the sense of a word formation is never completely predictable from the meaning of its components'. He claims that any form recognized by the speech community will have some level of specialized semantics. This is consistent with what is going on with the constructs here. As soon as the verb becomes associated with the noun, a specified meaning invariably seems to be taken on, and as a result the form is institutionalized. From this point it is just a case of degree; there is no point at which any form under consideration can be said to be fully lexicalized.

Overall, in terms of a model for use within the speech community, the examples under consideration do not appear to undergo abrupt steps. There are exceptions to this; the point when *pay tribute to* was first used in a metaphorical as opposed to financial sense would appear to be an instance of nonce formation, albeit only semantically and not morphologically. Equally, there will always be points at which changes to the availability of syntactic and modificational processes will create or be created by a semantic mutation of sorts, which conforms in part to the descriptions of nonce formation above. However, most examples we have seen tend to slowly become associated and collocated, eventually ending up with a greater or lesser extent of semantic opacity and syntactic inflexibility. As a result, it may be safer to describe the formation of these CPs as simply slow institutionalization, resulting in a form that is found somewhere along a gradient from less to more lexicalized/institutionalized, treating the terms as one and the same (as does Blank).

Internal processes within the lexicalization of Composite Predicates

Having discussed the diachronic change in use in the speech community, this section will deal with the internal processes going on in the CP examples, and will seek to identify the nature of lexicalization with regard to these constructions. Most theory work on lexicalization deals with single words and compounds that make the step from separate parts to a whole quite obviously; however, the as discussed above this appears not to be the case for the composite predicates dealt with here. Nevertheless a form such as *pay attention to* certainly appears to be lexicalized in PDE (albeit not fully). Brinton and Traugott agree, citing this form in a case study of composite predicates and pointing out that, along with constructs governed by other verbs (e.g. *lose sight of*), the pattern is unproductive and therefore lexicalized (2005:131). We will return to their argument more fully later on, but for the time being we can take it as a fact that lexicalization is in place here, and go on to point out the processes specific to these constructs.

FUSION

Fusion in lexicalization is summarized by Brinton and Traugott as ‘when meaning is kept constant but the expression changes’. This would certainly seem to be the case with most of the CPs here, though not all. *Pay heed to* for example has always carried the same overall meaning of ‘heed’ or ‘listen to’, ever since the first collocation of the two forms in the LME corpus (Galt 1821), but over time it has become syntactically restricted, semantically non-compositional and availability of modification has been reduced. However, *pay tribute to* has undergone a semantic change at some point in its

development, though it appears from the corpus data that this occurred prior to subsequent syntactic and modificational restrictions.

The concept of univerbation appears to be one aspect of fusion particularly applicable here. Lipka (2002:111) identifies the process as how a 'complex lexeme once coined tends to become a single complete lexical unit'. Brinton and Traugott (2005:52) cite many others who agree with this overall picture. However, since we have already established a general lack of coinage within these CP constructs, it appears that an earlier point in the univerbation scale would be more appropriate. Traugott's general description as 'the process whereby independent, usually monomorphemic, words are formed from more complex constructions' (1994:1485) seems to allow room for CPs. Her example is *tomorrow*, which has come from a prepositional phrase and has lost its word boundaries. The process is indeed similar to the most fossilized of the CP constructs here, *take part in*, *take umbrage at* and *pay court to*. The semantic opacity and syntactic inflexibility place these examples furthest down the scale of univerbation, although not as fixed as *tomorrow*. Traugott concedes that the presence of other forms with *to* in the language (e.g. *today*, *tonight*) indicates that *tomorrow* may not be truly monomorphemic (1994:1485). Nevertheless, most speakers treat *tomorrow* as a fully opaque, simple noun/temporal marker; consequently I would argue that e.g. *take part in* is similarly close to being a simple verb, in which word boundaries can almost be considered an orthographic formality. The other CPs all display limitations either semantically or syntactically, so Traugott's idea of univerbation appears to apply to them also, without requiring full fusion into a simplex.

IDIOMATICIZATION

Brinton and Traugott (2005:49) point out that older univerbations 'often involve some degree of phonological reduction and are morphologically and semantically opaque' (e.g. *either* < OE *a-hwæper* 'each of two'), but concede that more recent ones may be 'relatively transparent' and can be considered "'idioms"' (e.g. *nuts-and-bolts* 'practical details'). We have seen that most of the CPs here have undergone diachronic change within the last 300-400 years. Even the most lexicalized examples are indeed relatively transparent in comparison to simplexes such as *either*. Equally, none has undergone any kind of phonological change. As a result we can obviously treat CPs as more recent formations, but by this definition we should also treat them as idioms.

Idiomatization is concerned with the semantics of a form, and is characterized by routinization (i.e. regular use), which leads to 'univerbation, simplification, compacting and obliteration of boundaries' (Brinton and Traugott 2005:54). Also cited are the features of an idiom

that seem to be common to scholars definitions: semantic opacity/noncompositionality, grammatical deficiency (i.e. syntactic inflexibility), and the inavailability of substitution of parts with synonyms (55). Not mentioned but taken as read is the phrasal, multi-word nature of idiomatic forms (55). The first two characteristics seem to neatly fit in with the composite predicates under scrutiny, and shouldn't require further discussion. Availability of substitution benefits from further consideration. Universally accepted idioms such as *spill the beans*, *put a sock in it!* etc. cannot have any part of their whole replaced (**drop the beans*, **put a glove in it* cf. Brinton and Traugott 2005:55). However, as we have seen, unproductive substitutions were allowed with some CP examples in LME (*give heed to*, *give attention to*, *have the care of*), but are not allowed in PDE. This indicates that idiomaticization is present in these CPs, and subsequently lexicalization. However, it also provides support to an argument for inclusion of the preposition in the lexicalized form.

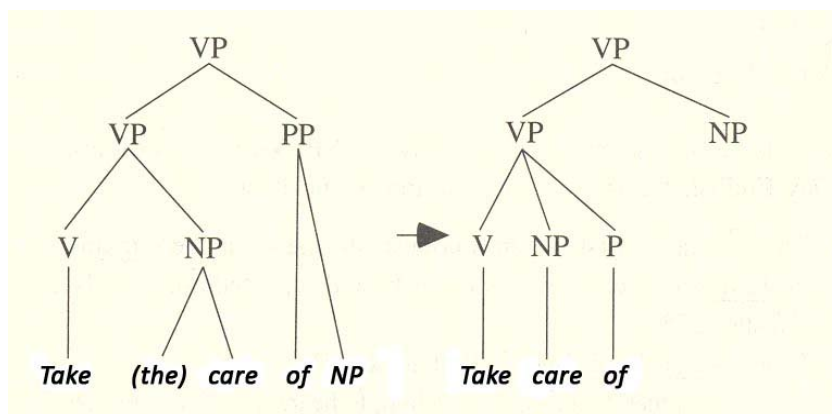
This is a difficult argument to fully prove. Certain syntactic operations can separate the preposition from the verb and noun. Normal passivization is only available in some cases and we have seen how it is generally less likely in more fossilized constructions. When it does occur the preposition must follow the verb-noun phrase as with a fully productive verb-NP-prepositional phrase construction (*tribute was paid to the soldier*, **tribute to the soldier was paid*). Relative clausening also retains the preposition where it would be in a grammatically productive construction (*the man who I took care of* vs. *the man who I gave a coat to*). Its normality of placement in most operations cannot tell us much. The availability of some CPs without a specified 2nd argument (i.e. indirect object) shows that the preposition is not morphologically necessary; for example imperative constructions (*pay attention!*) and non-finite usages (*it's time for him to take part*, *you should take heed*, *paying respects is difficult at a time like this*). This could mark it out as separate from the lexicalized form. But the availability of the prepositional passive, a grammatically unproductive form in PDE (**the driver was paid money to*), shows that there are circumstances in which the preposition must be taken with the construct and is fossilized with it. The principles of idiomaticization add weight to this, with no substitution of preposition allowed; for each CP there is only one collocationally valid preposition. In the LME corpus however there have been instances of substitution of preposition (e.g. *taking no heed to them* (Yonge 1865)); although this may be attributed to rivalry (returned to below, see Akimoto 1999:231), it still indicates that substitution has become unavailable over time. Consequently, the evidence points to idiomaticization and thus lexicalization of the preposition with the whole construct. Brinton and Traugott (2005:55) assert that most idioms lie somewhere on a gradient of idiomaticization, since there are so many different levels of syntactic variation and semantic transparency in those found in English. The CPs here surely

lie somewhere on this gradient, more or less idiomaticized depending on their diachronic progression.

Katovsky, cited in Brinton and Traugott (2005:56), believes that idiomaticization runs alongside demotivation. Demotivation is the process by which the semantics of a form change so that the meanings of the constituent parts are no longer indicative of the overall meaning. This is applicable to our examples, again to a greater or lesser degree dependant on diachronic progress. A word such as *butterfly* is morphologically transparent, it is still semantically demotivated as its meaning has been altered (Brinton and Traugott 2005:56). The CPs here are mostly morphologically transparent but have still lost their original semantic motivation; for example, *take part in* shows no major morphological opacity (bar the lack of an article with the noun), but does not mean what a speaker unfamiliar with the form would suppose it meant. Demotivation therefore is also an important part of the idiomaticization/lexicalization process for these CPs.

At this juncture I should draw attention to Akimoto's 1999 study of multi-word verbal forms in Late Modern English. His main focus in the study is on collocational frequencies of different verbs and nouns within assorted verbal constructions, but he supplements this with some highly relevant discussion of 'idiomatization', defined as 'the linguistic process, both synchronic and diachronic, of reorganizing certain phrases into fixed fossilized expressions, whose meanings have become more or less abstract and undecipherable' (1999:225). This follows what we have seen so far. He discusses the internal workings of the process with reference to CP examples from LME. The move from 'concreteness to abstractness' that he sees within these constructions can be linked with demotivation; indeed, he uses *take advantage of* as an example, pointing out how the construction used to take a determiner with the noun (e.g. from my corpus *and take the advantage of his want, to avoid payment* (Cibber 1753)). As a result, and as we have seen with other examples, the morphological productivity of the LME form renders it more semantically concrete, but over time this loss of formal transparency leads to semantic demotivation and abstractness.

Another aspect of diachronic change in CPs highlighted by Akimoto is reanalysis, which is said to occur on all levels (Akimoto 1999:232). This is essentially the overall result of the semantic, syntactic and morphological changes that the form has undergone. Akimoto shows how an example such as *lose sight of*, which displays a similar diachronic progression to *pay attention to* and *take care of*, is reanalysed from VP + PP, in which the VP consists of a V (*lose*) + NP ((*the*) *sight*) to a simple VP consisting of *lose + sight + of*. This equates to fusion as described above; hence fusion leads to reanalysis as a simple verb. The reanalysis of *take care of* could be displayed in a similar way:



(adapted from Akimoto 1999:232)

As a result we can see that idiomaticization is the primary process that leads to fossilization of CP forms. In fact, the changes that it encompasses seem to explain the diachronic changes in CPs so well that it is fair for us to treat idiomaticization as the technical process of language change that leads to institutionalization and lexicalization in most of the verb-noun-preposition composite predicates we have looked at. Nevertheless there have been some anomalies, especially concerning the speed and location of change; for example, *pay heed to* can be seen to have undergone a different speed of change to *pay attention to*, and *pay tribute to* displays change located at the level of the whole construct as opposed to gradual demotivation of its parts, as well as undergoing sudden semantic change after its parts were already strongly collocated. In addition, none of the CPs can be said to be completely fossilized or morphologically opaque, despite some highly specified and opaque semantics. Brinton and Traugott place this type of composite predicate near the transparent end of their cline of lexicalization, treating it as 'L1'; i.e. semiproductive, partially fixed phrases (2005:94). Within this stage in the cline however, we can see that many of the forms are more lexicalized than others, and whilst Brinton and Traugott admit this (ibid.), the LME has shown that when it comes to lexicalization there are many differences between the forms studied here. In fact, it is not the case that all the CP examples we have looked at were produced solely by processes of lexicalization. As was discovered above, some of the examples may actually have been influenced by the Light Verb construction, which crucially is created not by lexicalization, but by grammaticalization.

GRAMMATICALIZATION AND THE LIGHT VERB CONSTRUCTION

When discussed in the context of historical change, grammaticalization can be described as 'that subset of linguistic changes whereby a lexical item or construction in certain uses takes on grammatical characteristics, or through which a grammatical item becomes more grammatical' (Hopper and Traugott 2003:3). A grammaticalized form occurs 'when a content word assumes the grammatical characteristics of a function word' (2003:4). The example commonly cited as quintessential grammaticalization is *be going to*, the grammaticalization of which is explained in Hopper and Traugott's introductory chapter (2003:2-3). Originally operating as a main verb in a purpose clause style sentence, e.g. *I am going to buy some bread*, it carried full semantics denoting motion with intent. It was (and still can be) syntactically analysed as an inflected form of *go* plus a preposition of purpose. However, diachronic change has resulted in its reanalysis as *be going to/be gonna*, and its function has been reduced to an auxiliary verb. This change is partly the result of the future aspect of 'motion with intent' coming to the fore and eventually becoming the primary semantic value of the form. Consequently the form can now be used for situations in which its original meaning would not be acceptable e.g. *I am going to go to London*.

As with lexicalization, grammaticalization is characterized by several internal processes and trends in use within the speech community. Brinton and Traugott identify these (2005:99-100). Grammaticalization results in new functional forms created gradually over time, and these forms display host-class expansion. For example, *be gonna* can now be taken with almost all verb types (e.g. *go, be, want*), not only those that can be the result of a motion verb. This ties in with increased productivity; the form can now be used in any syntactic or semantic situation where the future tense is needed. The form may undergo semantic bleaching, whereby part of the meaning is lost as the form takes on a more functional role. Literal meaning is lost, and idiomaticization can occur as with lexicalization; the form takes on a particular, set role independent of its original meaning. Fusion and univerbation typically occur, as with *be gonna*. Additionally, decategorialization often takes place, whereby the form and/or its parts move from major word class(es) (N, V, Adj.) to minor word classes (Adj. Participle, Preposition, and here Auxiliary) (Brinton and Traugott 2005:107). Overall, however, it is generalization of meaning that sums up grammaticalization (Hopper and Traugott 2003:101ff); essentially the form becomes more useful to the speaker as it comes to mean less.

This of course does not seem to be a good description of the processes involved in the formation of the CP examples in this study. These forms have semantically become highly specialized for a specific use, and cannot be readily inserted into syntactic constructions. However, if we look closely at the Light Verb construction, we can see that it is the result of grammaticalization, and

since the origin of some of the *take* and *pay* CPs here may be derived from LV constructions, it should be possible to identify further processes in the production of the (ultimately lexicalized) forms under consideration.

The Light Verb construction is common in English and is highly productive in creating new forms (Brinton and Traugott 2005:131, for analyses see Cattell 1984, Kearns 2002 and Algeo 1995). It typically consists of a semantically 'light' verb plus a deverbal noun. Algeo describes the verb as semantically general and the noun as semantically specific, bearing the bulk of the meaning of the form (1995:204). He also points out that the form often has a simple verb equivalent.

Have a look = look

Take a walk = walk

Make a wish = wish

Do a dance = dance

These examples are typical of the Light Verb construction. The verb has lost its semantic weighting and no longer carries its usual sense. Instead it fulfils a role as an aspectual marker, limiting the amount of time the action occurs for (Wierzbicka 1982:757). Consequently, *take a walk* is aspectually limited to a short period in time, whereas simple verb *walk* cannot be temporally defined.

The semantic demotivation of the verb in LV constructions, the fulfilling of a functional role, the decategorialization of the deverbal noun and the widespread use and productivity of the LV construction (see Algeo 1995:206-7 for an extensive list) all point to the fact that the LV construction has undergone grammaticalization (Brinton 2008:49-500, Brinton and Traugott 2005:131, Trousdale 2008, esp. 38-40). The construction can be seen to be greatly generalized, and the light verb has undergone host-class expansion in that it can now take a greater range of object nouns, including many not necessarily directly linked to a simple verb variant (semantic differences e.g. *have a go* vs. *go*, morphological differences e.g. *have a preference* vs. *prefer*; see Algeo 1995:205).

Lexicalization out of grammaticalization in CPs

However, there are undoubtedly some instances of the LV construction that are more widely used than others, and possibly institutionalized. An instance such as *have a bath* is far more commonly used than its simple verb counterpart *bathe*, and can reasonably be accepted as an institutionalized form used specifically for washing oneself in a bath. *Bathe* on the other hand can be

used for any situation involving activity in water (one can bathe in the sea for instance without cleaning). As a result the semantic specificity of the form appears to spring from early-stage lexicalization through idiomaticization. However, the semantic demotivation of the constituent parts, as well as the valid collocation of *have* with *a bath*, has clearly resulted in a productive pattern caused by grammaticalization. Both grammaticalization and lexicalization seem to have occurred. But we know that the two cannot occur simultaneously, due to differences in productivity and semantic generalization and specificity. As a result we should reasonably assume that the form was produced initially through a grammatical schema, and then was taken up into the inventory by speakers and retained as a (albeit slightly) lexicalized form.

This particular process can also be seen with *take heed of*. As discussed, whilst *pay heed to* derived from gradual collocation and institutionalization, *take heed* was already accepted as a form from the start of the LME corpus. Its preposition however was not fixed with it until later (hence the presence of *take heed to*). There are some notable characteristics of *take heed*. Firstly, it displays telicity; the action lasts for a limited period of time. Secondly, it has a direct simple verb parallel in *heed*, which carries the same meaning but with a less defined duration. Thirdly, *take* has undergone semantic bleaching and the weight of the semantics of the form is carried by *heed*. As a result it would be reasonable to accept *take heed* as an LV construct. It is usual for LV constructs to make use of a determiner (e.g. *take a shower*, *take a walk*), but there are examples with none (*take pity*, *take notice*; Algeo 1995:207). The deverbal noun in these cases is inherently abstract and generated by human cognition, rather than the event basis of e.g. *take a step*, and as a result defies bounding.

As *take heed* developed, it required a preposition to govern its (now indirect) object; hence *of* became collocationally linked to the construction. Institutionalization came in to play and lexicalized the formation as *take heed of*, as we have seen from the LME corpus. Nevertheless, there appears to have been little idiomaticization from the Light Verb form *take heed* to the CP form *take heed of*; both have essentially the same meaning.

This pattern of progression is not present with *take care of*. *Take care* appears to be a Light Verb construct, with a meaning of ‘be careful/be aware’. But as described above *take care of* is a lexicalized composite predicate, and has a different meaning: ‘look after/deal with’. It has not lexicalized from *take care*; this is evidenced from the gradual collocation of *take* with *care* and subsequently with *of*, which is not present in *take heed of*. The semantic difference also belies this. As described before, this can lead to *take care* + *of* appearing in expressions such as *take care of the evening air!*, which although morphologically identical on the surface, cannot mean ‘look after/deal with’, and is therefore produced from the LV construction plus PP, parallel to *take heed of*. Here

though there is no hint of institutionalization. It would indeed be problematic for speakers if there were two institutionalized forms of *take care of* with different meanings.

Turning to the *pay* examples, *pay a visit* stands out as potentially being the product of the LV grammaticalized pattern. It has a clear simple verb parallel in *visit*, and displays telic properties that the simple verb alternative doesn't, as well as being listed by Algeo as an LV example (1995:207). However, the data pattern from the LME corpus presents a clouded picture of the construct's development. It is clearly less fossilized than other examples, with greater syntactic and morphological flexibility. The preposition is no more attached to the verb and object than it would be in a non-institutionalized form (e.g. *I'll pay a fine to the police*). There is evidence of institutionalization in the regularity of its collocation; *pay* has been 'selected' as the verb governing *visit* in this construction, as opposed to *make* which becomes less common over time. However, for any light verb construct there is a dominant light verb, even in the cases where there is a choice (e.g. *have a shower* vs. *take a shower*; see Algeo 1995:209ff for an assessment of variations between dialects). The process of its formation though appears to be different to *take care* and *take heed*; where these appear to have been produced instantly by way of the productivity provided by the grammaticalization of the Light Verb construction, *pay a visit* has developed slowly, allowing considerable syntactic variation before settling into the level of syntactic and morphological license allowed in PDE; although from this one corpus in this one period we cannot be certain. Nevertheless, it is difficult to claim that *pay a visit* has lexicalized over time, since it resembles an LV construct so closely, but equally it is hard to mark it out as the product of grammaticalization only, since it has been institutionalized over other forms (e.g. *make a visit*), and the verb has been gradually collocated with the object noun in the same manner as the other, lexicalized *pay* examples.

Similarities between grammaticalization and lexicalization

Clearly then we can see close relationships and progressions between grammaticalized Light Verb forms and lexicalized CP forms, evident from the historical patterns in certain examples. This leads us to consider some of similarities between the two processes. Although the two processes are not happening simultaneously, the semantic and morphological properties of the LV form provide a platform which then allows a CP form to 'branch off' and lexicalize. This potentially explains the appearance of sets of CPs; two groups of apparently morphologically similar CP forms governed by either *pay* or *take*. Furthermore, the branching off may be enabled by the proximity of the LV construction and CPs in terms of lexicalization and grammaticalization.

Brinton and Traugott put forward different levels of grammaticalization and lexicalization, highlighting how productivity is central to the two processes (2005:92-4). We know that lexicalized CPs are created through processes that are no longer productive (*pay* cannot under PDE conditions govern *attention* for example). Equally, the LV construction can be considered productive, since it can be created from a large range of simple verbs. However, neither construction type has developed as far as it can. Composite predicates as we have seen are still morphologically adaptable; the verbal element can be subject to inflection, and syntactic variation is available in all but the most fossilized examples. As a result, Brinton and Traugott cite them as an example of ‘L1 lexicalization’ (‘partially fixed phrases’), the least lexicalized level (2005:94,131). The LV construction is in a similarly less-developed state of grammaticalization (‘G1’), in that the verbal element is operating as a separate word subject to inflection (2005:131). Given time, we may see the light verb develop in to an aspect-marking prefix (cf. *be-* e.g. *bedevil*, *belated*, Brinton and Traugott 2005:131, 93). Consequently, both structures are located relatively near the level of normal discourse; neither is to the extreme end of the particular process it is subject to. On the other hand, a more extensively grammaticalized form, such as cliticized genitive ‘s (Brinton and Traugott 2005:93), has become functional, productive and semantically bleached to the extent that it would be very unlikely for it to conceivably spawn a lexicalized form (Brinton and Traugott 2005:94).

Considering the similarities between the two processes of grammaticalization and lexicalization, evident in LV and CP constructs, it becomes clear how CPs can develop from LVs. Brinton and Traugott identify these (2005:105); here I will outline those that are relevant to our two construction types:

Unidirectionality. There has been extensive discussion of the underlying motivation for the impossibility of a lexicalized or grammaticalized form to become less fossilized in the former case or less grammatically productive in the latter case (see Brinton and Traugott 2005:69-74). However, the most compelling argument is that of Givón (cited *ibid.*); that the formal patterns used to express any particular concept are appropriate to the semantic properties of that concept. Hence, the LV construction is necessarily governed by a semantically bleached verb, since the idea that the speaker wants to express is solely aspectual and can occur in any situation. Similarly, a fossilized CP form has a fully-fledged, specified meaning that can only be expressed by one particular lexicalized incarnation in language. Language reflects the thought process of the speaker, and the speech community can’t readily change its cognitive patterns. Of course, this process should be driving the two constructions apart;

it is only by virtue of their relatively underdeveloped grammaticalization and lexicalization that they are close enough to 'branch off'.

Fusion. This is central to the similarities between both constructions, since both are created by fixed collocations (Brinton and Traugott 2005:105); either the gradual regular attachment of e.g. *pay* to *attention*, or the domination of *pay* over *make* with *a visit*.

Demotivation. (see Brinton and Traugott 2005:105). Both LV and CP constructions have undergone semantic change from the meanings they would usually carry if taken at face value. This has resulted in *take heed of* and *pay heed to* carrying identical meanings, whereas face value would result in opposites. Demotivation as a result of grammaticalization or lexicalization has led to the same semantics. In terms of 'branching off', demotivation allows face value semantics to be ignored, so a lexicalized form may develop from a grammaticalized form, since its semantics have already been 'prepped' (e.g. *take heed* > *take heed of*).

Bleaching. Listed as a 'minimal parallel' by Brinton and Traugott (2005:108), bleaching is nevertheless relevant to LV and CP constructions due to their still-separate elements. The verbal element in both cases is bleached; neither construction displays a use of *pay* or *take* that carries anywhere near its full semantic value. Both constructions force the verb to lose some of its semantic value for the benefit of the construction as a whole; hence, as with demotivation, there are no semantic barriers preventing lexicalization of a grammaticalized LV form.

The overall result of these similarities is two construction types that display underdeveloped examples in terms of the two processes of grammaticalization and lexicalization. The internal elements of each construction are present, but are sufficiently semantically irrelevant for the overall formal nature of the construction to take prevalence. Hence the major defining factor is syntactic fossilization. As a result, there is no semantic difference between e.g. *take heed* and *take heed of*, yet the former is the result of grammaticalization, and the latter lexicalization. However, the extent to which either is grammaticalized/lexicalized is low enough that in practice there is no real implication in use, syntactic flexibility or modification.

CONCLUSION

It has become clear from the diachronic evidence of the Late Modern English corpus and Present Day English that despite the apparent morphological similarities amongst Composite Predicates governed by *pay* and those governed by *take*, there should not be any division into sets based on a common verbal element. Instead, we have seen that the closest relationships exist in terms of type of diachronic development. Of course, no two examples display the exact same progression, but nevertheless all do undergo fossilization and lexicalization to some extent, albeit in a way peculiar to themselves and the CP construction type as a whole. The major differences are between examples that slowly collocate over time, becoming gradually more fossilized and lexicalized (e.g. *pay attention to*, *pay heed to*, *take care of*, and probably *take exception to*), examples that fossilize rapidly as a result of an overall metaphoric change (*pay tribute to*), and examples that fossilize and lexicalize from the Light Verb construction; their original collocation happened quickly as the result of a grammaticalized construction type (*take heed of*, *pay a visit to*). It can also be shown that this last diachronic development is facilitated by the underdevelopment of the construction types on the clines of grammaticalization and lexicalization, as well as by similarities between the two construction types, which is in turn the product of similarities in general between the processes of grammaticalization and lexicalization.

This paper has only been a brief foray into the development of individual constructs; time has limited my ability to discuss every example originally cited, let alone any examples governed by other verbal elements. Composite Predicates are so common in English that identifying the origin of every form is nearly impossible. However, I would recommend further analysis of a greater selection of examples; if the present study has shed light on some of the workings of lexicalization, alternative examples would surely provide further clues. I would also encourage discussion of the idea of 'lexicalization out of grammaticalization'; if some CPs can lexicalize from apparently grammaticalized LV forms, then one would expect there to be other instances of lexicalization from grammatical forms somewhere in diachronic language change.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Akimoto, M. 1999. 'Collocations and Idioms in Late Modern English'. In Brinton and Akimoto (eds.) 1999. *Collocational and Idiomatic Aspects of Composite Predicates in the History of English*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia. 207-238
- Algeo, J. 1995. 'Having a look at the expanded predicate'. In Aarts, B. and Meyer, C. F. (eds.), *The Verb in Contemporary English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 203–217.
- Bauer, L. 1983. *English Word-Formation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brinton, L. 2008. "'Where lexis and grammar meet": Composite Predicates in English'. In *Theoretical and Empirical Issues in Grammaticalization*, Seoane, E. and López-Couso, M. J. (eds.), in collaboration with Teresa Fanego. (Typological Studies in Language.) Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Brinton, L. & Akimoto, M. (eds.) 1999. *Collocational and Idiomatic Aspects of Composite Predicates in the History of English*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia.
- Brinton, L. and Traugott, E. C. 2005. *Lexicalization and Language Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bussmann, H. 1996. *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*. trans. and eds. Trauth, G. and Kazzazi, K. London and New York: Routledge.
- Cattell, R. 1984. *Composite Predicates in English*. (Syntax and Semantics 17.) Sydney: Academic Press.
- Huddleston, R. and Pullum, G. K. 2002. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hopper, P. J. and Traugott, E. C. 2003. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Kearns, K. 2002. *Light verbs in English*. <http://www.ling.canterbury.ac.nz/kate/lightverbs.pdf>.
- Lipka, L. 2002 [1990]. *English Lexicology: Lexical Structure, Word Semantics & Word Formation*. (Narr Studien bücher.) Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 3rd revised edn. of *An Outline of English Lexicology*.
- Quirk, R., Greenbaum, G., Leech, G. and Svartvik, J. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London and New York, Longman.
- Ryder, M. E. 1999. 'Complex –er nominals: Where grammaticalization and lexicalization meet?' In Contini-Morava, E. and Tobin, Y. eds. *Between Grammar and Lexicon*, 291-332. (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 183.) Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Traugott, E. C. 1999. 'A Historical Overview of Complex Predicate Types'. In Brinton and Akimoto eds. 1999. *Collocational and Idiomatic Aspects of Composite Predicates in the History of English*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia. 239-260.

Traugott, E. C. 1994. Grammaticalization and lexicalization. In Asher, R. E. and Simpson, J. M. Y. eds. *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, Vol. III, 1481-1486.

Trousdale, G. 2008. 'Constructions in grammaticalization and lexicalization: Evidence from the history of a composite predicate construction in English'. In Trousdale, G. and Gisborne, N. *Constructional explanations in English grammar*. Topics in English Linguistics 57. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 33-67.

Wierzbicka, A. 1982. 'Why can you Have a Drink when you can't *Have an Eat?' *Language*, 58(4):753-799.

INDEX TO THE CORPUS OF LATE MODERN ENGLISH TEXTS (EXTENDED VERSION, 15 MILLION WORDS, [HTTPS://PERSWWW.KULEUVEN.BE/~U0044428/](https://perswww.kuleuven.be/~U0044428/))

Author	Title and year of first publication		No. of words
Gay, John (1685-1732)	1728	<i>The beggar's opera</i>	17,427
Bradley, Richard (1688-1732)	1732	<i>The country housewife and lady's director</i>	90,007
Pope, Alexander (1688-1744)	1733-34	<i>An essay on man</i>	46,995
Richardson, Samuel (1689-1761)	1740	<i>Pamela</i> (s)	200,225
Butler, Joseph (1692-1752)	1726	<i>Human nature and other sermons</i>	42,537
Haywood, Eliza Fowler (1693-1756)	1744	<i>The fortunate foundlings</i>	102,644
Chesterfield, Philip Dormer Stanhope (1694-1773)	1746-71	<i>Letters to his son</i> (s)	199,819
Doddridge, Philip (1701-1752)	c1750	<i>The life of Col. James Gardiner</i>	48,995
Cibber, Theophilus (1703-1758)	1753	<i>The lives of the poets of Great Britain and Ireland</i> (Vol. 1; Vol. 3)	200,636
Fielding, Henry (1707-54)	1749	<i>The history of Tom Jones, a foundling</i> (s)	100,242
--	1751	<i>Amelia</i> (s)	99,569
Johnson, Samuel (1709-84)	1740-41	<i>Parliamentary debates</i> (Vol. 1) (s)	163,695
--	1759	<i>Rasselas, prince of Abyssinia</i>	37,070
Fielding, Sarah (1710-68)	1749	<i>The governess; or, the little female academy</i>	50,708
Hume, David (1711-76)	1739-40	<i>A treatise of human nature</i> (s)	113,935
--	1751	<i>An enquiry concerning the principles of morals</i>	48,245
--	1779	<i>Dialogues concerning natural religion</i>	35,972
Sterne, Laurence (1713-68)	1759-67	<i>The life and opinions of Tristram Shandy</i> (s)	158,135
--	1768	<i>A sentimental journey through France and Italy</i>	42,249
Walpole, Horace (1717-97)	1735-48	<i>Letters</i> (Vol. 1) (s)	162,799
--	1764	<i>The castle of Otranto</i>	36,171
Smollett, Tobias George (1721-71)	1751	<i>The adventures of Peregrine Pickle</i> (s)	99,421
--	1771	<i>The expedition of Humphrey Clinker</i> (s)	100,675
Smith, Adam (1723-90)	1766	<i>An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations</i> (s)	200,667
Reynolds, Joshua (1723-92)	1769-76	<i>Seven discourses on art</i>	39,563

Goldsmith, Oliver (1728-74)	1766	<i>The vicar of Wakefield</i>	63,730
--	1773	<i>She stoops to conquer</i>	22,962
Cook, James (1728-1779)	1768-71	<i>Captain Cook's journal during the first voyage round the world (s)</i>	201,095
Burke, Edmund (1729-97)	1770	<i>Thoughts on the present discontents</i>	30,386
--	1775	<i>On conciliation with America</i>	26,883
Reeve, Clara (1729-1807)	1777	<i>The old English baron</i>	55,063
Gibbon, Edward (1737-94)	1776	<i>The decline and fall of the Roman Empire (Vol. 1) (s)</i>	199,087
TOTAL 1710-1780			3,037,607
Burney, Fanny (1752-1840)	1782	<i>Cecilia (Vol. 1-2) (s)</i>	198,671
Inchbald, Elisabeth (1753-1821)	1796	<i>Nature and art</i>	47,126
--	1798	<i>Lover's vows</i>	17,701
Kilner, Dorothy (1755-1838)	1783	<i>The life and perambulations of a mouse</i>	30,153
Godwin, William (1756-1836)	1783-84	<i>Four early pamphlets</i>	45,459
--	1794	<i>The adventures of Caleb Williams (s)</i>	36,311
--	1831	<i>Thoughts on man</i>	116,208
Burns, Robert (1759-96)	1780-96	<i>The letters of Robert Burns</i>	124,247
Wollstonecraft, Mary (1759-97)	1792	<i>Vindication on the rights of woman</i>	86,670
--	1796	<i>Letters on Norway, Sweden, and Denmark</i>	48,219
--	1798	<i>Maria</i>	45,428
Beckford, William (1760-1844)	1783	<i>Dreams, waking thoughts, and incidents</i>	80,746
Clarkson, Thomas (1760-1846)	1839	<i>The history of the abolition of the African slave-trade (s)</i>	200,018
Carey, William (1761-1834)	1792	<i>An enquiry into the obligations of Christians</i>	14,901
Malthus, Thomas (1766-1834)	1798	<i>An essay on the principle of population</i>	54,451
Edgeworth, Maria (1767-1849)	1796-1801	<i>The parent's assistant</i>	168,182
Hogg, James (1770-1835)	1824	<i>The private memoirs and confessions of a justified sinner</i>	84,166
Foster, John (1770-1843)	1821	<i>An essay on the evils of popular ignorance</i>	92,695
Cottle, Joseph (1770-1853)	1847	<i>Reminiscences of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Robert Southey</i>	149,309
Owen, Robert (1771-1858)	1813	<i>A new view of society</i>	34,124
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor (1772-1834)	1817	<i>Biographia Literaria</i>	138,354
Cary, Henry Francis (1772-1844)	1846	<i>Lives of the English poets</i>	97,740
Hunt, Henry (1773-1835)	1820-22	<i>Memoirs of Henry Hunt (Vol. 1)</i>	130,079
Southey, Robert (1774-1843)	1813	<i>Life of Horatio Lord Nelson</i>	96,781
--	1829	<i>Sir Thomas More</i>	39,124
Austen, Jane (1775-1817)	1796-1817	<i>Letters to her sister Cassandra and others (s)</i>	77,989
--	1811	<i>Sense and sensibility (s)</i>	61,546
--	1813	<i>Pride and Prejudice (s)</i>	60,141
Lamb, Charles (1775-1834)	1807	<i>Tales from Shakespeare</i>	100,349
--	1808	<i>Adventures of Ulysses</i>	33,727
Smith, James (1775-1839), and Horace Smith (1779-1849)	1812	<i>Rejected addresses</i>	28,759

Hazlitt, William (1778-1830)	1821-22	<i>Table talk</i>	160,700
--	1823	<i>Liber Amoris</i>	30,911
Galt, John (1779-1839)	1821	<i>The Ayrshire Legatees</i>	50,072
--	1821	<i>Annals of the Parish</i>	65,613
--	1823	<i>The provost</i>	55,353
Gillman, James (1782-1839)	1838	<i>Life of Samuel Taylor Coleridge</i>	85,331
Hunt, Leigh (1784-1859)	1846	<i>Stories from the Italian poets</i> (Vol. 1)	95,971
De Quincey, Thomas (1785-1859)	1822	<i>Confessions of an English opium-eater</i>	38,839
Byron, George Gordon (1788-1824)	1810-13	<i>Letters 1810-1813</i>	110,243
Babbage, Charles (1792-1871)	1830	<i>Reflections on the decline of science in England</i>	50,169
--	1832	<i>The economy of machinery and manufactures</i>	105,468
Marryat, Frederick (1792-1848)	1841	<i>Masterman Ready</i>	99,705
Carlyle, Thomas (1795-1881)	1837	<i>The French revolution</i> (s)	200,251
Shelly, Mary Wollstonecraft (1797-1851)	1818	<i>Frankenstein</i>	75,082
Gore, Catherine Grace Frances (1799-1861)	1824	<i>Theresa Marchmont, or the maid of honour</i>	15,965
Bulwer-Lytton, Edward (1803-73)	1834	<i>The last days of Pompeii</i>	151,692
Borrow, George Henry (1803-81)	1842	<i>The Bible in Spain</i> (s)	199,199
Disraeli, Benjamin (1804-81)	1826	<i>Vivian Grey</i> (s)	100,147
--	1837	<i>Venetia</i> (s)	99,263
Ainsworth, William Harrison (1805-82)	1843	<i>Windsor Castle</i>	117,072
Norton, Caroline (1808-77)	1839	<i>A plain letter to the Lord Chancellor on the Infant Custody Bill</i>	33,451
Darwin, Charles (1809-82)	1839	<i>The voyage of the Beagle</i> (s)	199,777
Kinglake, William (1809-91)	1844	<i>Eothen, or Traces of travel brought home from the East</i>	89,058
Gaskell, Elizabeth (1810-65)	1848	<i>Mary Barton</i>	160,888
Thackeray, William Makepeace (1811-63)	1847-48	<i>Vanity Fair</i> (s)	200,907
Dickens, Charles (1812-70)	1841	<i>Barnaby Rudge</i> (s)	78,226
--	1843	<i>A Christmas carol in prose</i>	28,673
--	1848	<i>Dombey and son</i> (s)	93,352
Ellis, Sarah Stickney (1812-72)	1839	<i>The women of England, their social duties, and domestic habits</i>	75,614
Brontë, Emily (1818-48)	1847	<i>Wuthering Heights</i>	116,760
Brontë, Anne (1820-49)	1847	<i>Agnes Grey</i> (s)	50,133
--	1848	<i>The tenant of Wildfell Hall</i> (s)	150,730
TOTAL 1780-1850			5,723,988
Baker, Samuel White (1821-93)	1854	<i>The rifle and the hound in Ceylon</i>	90,467
--	1855	<i>Eight years' wanderings in Ceylon</i>	89,221
Hughes, Thomas (1822-96)	1857	<i>Tom Brown's schooldays</i>	105,982
Linton, E. Lynn (1822-1898)	1885	<i>The autobiography of Christopher Kirkland</i> (Vol. 1-3)	147,209

Freeman, Edward Augustus (1823-92)	1888	<i>William the Conqueror</i>	57,067
Yonge, Charlotte Mary (1823-1901)	1873	<i>Young folk's History of England</i> (s)	51,339
--	1865	<i>The clever woman of the family</i> (s)	74,807
--	1870	<i>The caged lion</i> (s)	77,241
Collins, William Wilkie (1824-89)	1859-60	<i>The woman in white</i> (s)	96,398
--	1868	<i>The moonstone</i> (s)	101,932
Huxley, Thomas Henry (1825-95)	1894	<i>Discourses</i>	95,883
Blackmore, Richard Doddridge (1825-1900)	1869	<i>Lorna Doone, a romance of Exmoor</i> (s)	202,593
Bagehot, Walter (1826-77)	1867	<i>The English constitution</i>	97,933
--	1869	<i>Physics and politics</i>	56,554
--	1873	<i>Lombard Street</i>	48,440
Craik, Dinah Maria Mulock (1826-1887)	1850	<i>Olive</i> (Vol. 1-3)	152,605
Cassels, Walter (1826-1907)	1889	<i>A reply to Dr. Lightfoot's essays</i>	59,949
Meredith, George (1828-1909)	1870	<i>The adventures of Harry Richmond</i> (s)	97,677
--	1895	<i>The amazing marriage</i> (s)	98,235
Booth, Catherine Mumford (1829-90)	1879	<i>Papers on practical religion</i>	53,616
--	1880	<i>Papers on aggressive Christianity</i>	54,668
Booth, William (1829-1912)	1890	<i>In darkest England and the way out</i>	126,065
Bird, Isabella Lucy (1831-1904)	1856	<i>The Englishwoman in America</i>	127,423
Rutherford, Mark (1831-1913)	1893	<i>Catherine Furze</i>	67,367
--	1896	<i>Clara Hopgood</i>	48,987
Carroll, Lewis (1832-98)	1865	<i>Alice's adventures in Wonderland</i>	26,699
--	1871	<i>Through the looking glass</i>	29,639
--	1889	<i>Sylvie and Bruno</i>	65,579
Butler, Samuel (1835-1902)	1880	<i>Unconscious memory</i> (s)	51,231
--	1903	<i>The way of all flesh</i> (s)	74,069
--	1912	<i>Note-books</i> (s)	76,734
Webster, Augusta (1837-1894)	1884	<i>Daffodil and the Croöxaxicans</i>	107,442
Abbott, Edwin (1838-1926)	1884	<i>Flatland</i>	33,805
Pater, Walter Horatio (1839-94)	1885	<i>Marius the Epicurean</i> (Vol. 1)	56,847
--	1886-90	<i>Essays from 'The Guardian'</i>	24,020
--	1896	<i>Gaston de Latour, an unfinished romance</i>	38,212
Bridge, Cyprian (1839-1924)	1899-1902	<i>Sea-power and other studies</i>	79,267
Buckley, Arabella Burton (1840-1929)	1879	<i>The fairy-land of science</i>	61,653
Hardy, Thomas (1840-1928)	1873	<i>A pair of blue eyes</i> (s)	101,665
--	1874	<i>Far from the madding crowd</i> (s)	100,100
Blind, Mathilde (1841-96)	1883	<i>George Eliot</i>	60,685
--	1885	<i>Tarantella</i> (Vol. 1)	62,835
Cheyne, Thomas Kelly (1841-1915)	1914	<i>The reconciliation of races and religions</i>	49,597
Carpenter, Edward (1844-1929)	1915	<i>The healing of nations and the hidden sources of their strife</i>	47,476
Bacon, John Mackenzie (1846-1904)	1902	<i>The dominion of the air</i>	89,946
Grossmith, George (1847-1912),	1894	<i>The diary of a nobody</i>	42,276

and Weedon Grossmith (1852-1919)			
Gosse, William Edmund (1849-1928)	1907	<i>Father and son, a study of two temperaments</i>	79,185
Ward, Humphry (1851-1920)	1894	<i>Marcella</i> (Vol. 1)	119,519
Malet, Lucas (1852-1931)	1901	<i>The history of Sir Richard Calmady</i> (s)	99,115
Caine, Hall (1853-1931)	1897	<i>The Christian</i>	200,268
Haggard, Henry Rider (1856-1925)	1887	<i>She</i>	111,944
Gissing, George (1857-1903)	1891	<i>New Grub Street</i> (s)	94,810
--	1893	<i>The odd woman</i> (s)	101,691
Radford, Dollie (1858-1920)	1904	<i>Sea-thrift: A fairy-tale</i>	29,135
Nesbit, Edith (1858-1924)	1902	<i>The children and it</i>	54,379
Jerome, Jerome K. (1859-1927)	1889	<i>Three men in a boat</i>	67,445
--	1909	<i>They and I</i>	70,125
Hope, Anthony (1863-1933)	1894	<i>The prisoner of Zenda</i>	54,157
--	1898	<i>Rupert of Hentzau</i>	83,351
Brebner, Percy James (1864-1922)	1910	<i>The brown mask</i>	94,713
Kipling, Rudyard (1865-1936)	1894	<i>The jungle book</i>	51,162
--	1897	<i>Captains courageous</i>	53,452
Wells, Herbert George (1866-1946)	1888	<i>The time machine</i>	32,507
--	1897	<i>The war of the worlds</i>	60,308
--	1902-03	<i>Mankind in the making</i>	103,549
Bennett, Arnold (1867-1931)	1902	<i>The grand Babylon Hotel</i> (s)	51,852
--	1908	<i>The old wives' tale</i> (s)	149,599
Galsworthy, John (1867-1933)	1904	<i>The island Pharisees</i>	70,492
--	1906	<i>The man of property</i>	110,623
Blackwood, Algernon (1869-1951)	1910	<i>The human chord</i>	58,957
--	1915	<i>The extra day</i>	95,143
Churchill, Winston (1874-1965)	1899	<i>The river war, an account of the reconquest of the Sudan</i>	126,807
Chesterton, Gilbert Keith (1874-1936)	1912	<i>What's wrong with the world</i>	60,318
--	1914	<i>The wisdom of father Brown</i>	71,935
Beesley, Lawrence (1877-1967)	1912	<i>The loss of the SS Titanic</i>	49,917
Chambers, Dorothea Lambert (1878-1960)	1910	<i>Lawn tennis for ladies</i>	22,335
Forster, Edward Morgan (1879-1970)	1905	<i>Where angels fear to tread</i>	49,988
--	1908	<i>A room with a view</i> (s)	49,518
--	1910	<i>Howards end</i> (s)	100,510
Bagnold, Enid (1889-1981)	1920	<i>The happy foreigner</i>	63,560
TOTAL 1850-1920			6,251,564
TOTAL 1710-1920			14,970,622